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S P E E C H

OF THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

HENRY GRATTAN,

RELATIVE TO

T Y T H E,

IN THE

IRISH HOUSE OF COMMONS,

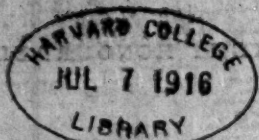
ON FRIDAY, MAY 8, 1789.

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IRISH HOUSE OF COMMONS

ON FRIDAY, MAY 8, 1916

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1770

S P E E C H

OF THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

HENRY GRATTAN.

MR. SPEAKER,

THE advocates for tythes and their abuse, having declined a public enquiry, thought they best consulted the dignity of the church, by resorting to a paper war: this paper war has been conducted under the mitred auspices of certain bishops—these bishops have in the course of it accused me of making an attack on the protestant clergy of the South. You know, they know how totally unfounded such a charge—I did prefer then, and I prefer now, certain allegations, that in some parts of the South there existed illegal demand, encreasing demand, excessive demand, an abuse of the compensation act; tythe-proctors who extort

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fees,

fees, tythe-farmers who lay the poor under contribution; these charges I did not affirm to effect the major part of the Southern clergy, but I did, and I do now affirm, that they do effect in degree and extent such a proportion of district as to call for the interference of Parliament.—Two pamphlets on this subject, entitled my Speech, were published, different from each other, or resembling each other in nothing except in not being my Speech, and in not being published by my authority; to these pamphlets the dignitaries above alluded to have replied: convinced that I neither spoke nor wrote the contents of either, they have charged me with both. This unfounded charge on me they have thought proper to mask by calling it a Defence of the Protestant clergy of the South, and have thus endeavoured to disperse through the community a false alarm, and a groundless accusation.—This alarm and accusation, called a Defence, sets forth, that the bishops of the South, in the year 1786, wrote circular letters to their clergy, desiring returns of their respective ratages; with a recommendation that these returns, if possible, should be made on oath. The Defence sets forth, that returns were made.—I own I should be very glad to see them; not one syllable—the Defence suppresses

ses the returns of the clergy, and gives the public in their place its own calculation, which it professes to be an average formed on these returns.—Even so, let us admit such evidence; where the bishops contend, let the party be the evidence, and the advocate be the judge. The authors of the Defence having stated, that a most minute and general enquiry has been made, allege*, that, in the whole extent of that enquiry, they no where find the rate for potatoes higher than twelve shillings the plantation-acre; these are their words, and on the veracity of this allegation, depends whatever attention should be paid to their defence. I have from private hands assurances innumerable, in the most positive and direct manner contradicting that allegation. I have from private hands affidavits without number disproving that allegation. I will reject them

* *Defence of the Protestant Clergy, page 93.*—But it must be remembered, that from the vicinity of these parishes to Limerick, and the great fertility of the ground, the average value of the crops of potatoes is twenty pounds; the tythes two pounds, and other crops in proportion.—Now, is twelve shillings an unreasonable demand for what is worth two pounds? I further remark, that *I no where find the rate higher than twelve shillings the plantation-acre*; and the crop, wherever it is charged, not worth less than eleven or twelve pounds, more generally sixteen or twenty.

all. I will, for argument, give the pastors a victory over their flock, and the fruits of their care, and suppose, for a moment, their parishioners to be perjured, yet what shall we say of the clergy, who have, by themselves, or their witnesses, sworn the same thing?—I will read you a report from the judge who went the Munster circuit of the spring of 1788.—It is as follows. “At the last assizes held for the
 “ county of Kerry, at Tralee, a civil bill was
 “ brought before me, upon the compensation-
 “ act, for the value of certain tythes.—From
 “ the evidence of the plaintiff’s own witness,
 “ and the schedule, the demand appeared as
 “ follows: tythe of potatoes, one acre and a
 “ half, 2l. os. 6d.” (Gentlemen will recollect, that, by the compensation-act, the bill or petition is not to be brought for the value, but the customary charge). I will read another document, equally authoritative, from Cork.

RATES

*RATES of TYTHES, on Petitions, for the Year
1786, in the County of Cork.*

IRISH ACRE.

Potatoes.		Wheat		Barley		Oats		Meadow	
from	to	from	to	from	to	from	to	from	to
s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
12 9½	16 0	8 0	9 7	8 0	9 7	3 2	4 9½	3 2	0 0
16 0	0 0	12 9½	16 0	12 9½	0 0	4 9½	6 4½	6 4½	0 0
12 9½	0 0	9 7	0 0	0 0	0 0	4 9½	0 0	4 9½	0 0
8 0	12 9½	6 4½	9 7	6 4½	0 0	1 8½	4 0	3 2	4 0
12 9½	16 0	12 9½	0 0	8 0	9 7	8 0	0 0	4 9½	6 4½
11 2	14 4½	11 2	12 9½	8 0	11 2	4 0	6 4½	3 2	0 0
9 7	14 4½	6 4½	9 7	8 0	0 0	3 2	6 4	3 2	5 2
11 2	12 9½	8 0	9 7	0 0	0 0	1 7	4 9½	1 7	4 0
8 0	16 0	11 2	0 0	9 7	0 0	5 2	0 0	4 9½	0 0
12 9½	16 0	8 0	9 7	8 0	9 7	4 0	4 9½	3 2	0 0
12 9	0 0	9 7	0 0	11 2	0 0	4 9	0 0	3 2	0 0

I MUST here again observe, that the petition is by the act to be brought for the customary charge.

I MUST observe also, that only nineteen petitions were tried for 1786, wherein rates were specified; and of the nineteen, eleven exceeded the rate of 12s. the plantation-acre; a rate, the Defence affirms, has never been exceeded; I must also observe that these petitions must have been supported by the oath of the clergy or their witnesses, and do directly falsify the allegation of the Defence—What becomes of the Defence now? not refuted, but
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convicted, convicted on oath, the oath of the clergy themselves or their witnesses, taken at a public trial. Thus the Defence of the bishops is put down by the oaths of the clergy.

HERE I might leave the Defence, if it did not advance another proposition too glaring to pass without observation: * it states, in a very confused manner I own, but it does state, that the average ratages have not in any southern county or diocese increased these thirty years. The gross improbability of this assertion must appear to every man, who reflects on the progress of things since the year 1756, (the period to which the Defence refers) who reflects how the mode of living has changed, and become more expensive since that time, and how much the style and

* *Defence of the Protestant Clergy, page 47.*—It is incontrovertably true, that in most places the rates of tythe have not varied for the last thirty years.

And in page 41.—But sure I am, from the present state of ratages, collected from exact information, the average increase, through any entire county, diocese, or parish, if any there has been, can be but very small indeed, and that in very few parishes only, but certainly not throughout any diocese or county.

tone of modern clergymen excels in expence and display, the old ministers of the gospel. The improbability of this assertion, would appear more fully, if I were permitted to bring to the bar of this house the parishioners, who could most feelingly attest the direct contrary; or were I permitted to produce affidavits which swear the direct contrary. But I will for a moment reject all this, and I will refute their case by nothing less than the authority of their own oaths, and the acknowledgement of their own vindication. The Defence states, that the average-ratages of the poor dioceses of Cloyne and of Cork, are above 10s. an acre, potatoes, and of Cork above 7s. 9d. wheat, and Cloyne above 9s. wheat; while in the rich diocese, potatoes are, as the Defence states, 7s. the acre, and wheat 6s. 6d.

THE Defence endeavours to account for the disparity, and ascribes it to a number of corn-mills established in the county of Cork, and to the export trade of corn, from the ports, Youghal, Cork, Kinsale, and Dungarvan. Now these mills, and this export trade, are almost entirely the effect of the corn-bounty, the inland bounty, which did not take place till the year 1758, and still more, the export-bounty, which did not take place till the
year

year 1773, and which, with the inland bounty, has been gradually, and more abundantly, operating ever since.

THE Defence has then assigned a cause, which cause began to exist within thirty years of the date of the enquiry;—it follows, that the effect must have taken place within that period;—it follows, that an encrease of average-ratage has taken place in some dioceses within those thirty years;—it follows, that the other great position of the Defence is unfounded.

THUS the two great positions of the case fail:—the first is refuted by the oath of the party, and the second by the admission of the Defence: the Defence acknowledges what it denies, that the clergy have encreased the average-prices of some dioceses within these thirty years; it acknowledges, what it also denies, that they have tithed the bounty; but I will wave all this; and yet I will shew their case to be inadmissible: it states, that they have procured returns from the clergy, what kind of returns you have heard; but it does not pretend to have gotten any from the lay impropriators; and it affirms, that this share amounts to one-third of the tythes of this kingdom: it acknowledges then, that the enquiry

quity has omitted one-third of the question, and on such an enquiry they propose to decide the state of Munster and all its peasantry. Allow their Defence biased, as it must be thought; fallacious, as it has been sworn; self-convicted, as it has been proved; however, in compliment to its authors, let us for a moment allow it. Yet still it is not the state of the tithes of Munster; it is not commensurate with the question it presumes to cover; it does not affect to touch at all one of the three parts of the case; and when it affects to touch the other two, I have shown it to be but affectation. With every respect to the clergy of Munster, the question is not, Whether they are the oppressors? it is higher,—it is, Whether the people are oppressed? To acquit the clergy, supposing such a Defence, which proves nothing but its own contradiction, could do so, decides only an inferior question; to obtrude that decision as disposing of the whole of the case, is to make a criminal use of their supposed innocence; and, as the Defence would acquit the parsons on their own evidence, so would it dismiss the peasant unredressed, without any evidence at all.—In answer to such a proposal, we ask of right reverend authority, Where is

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your flock? What, is there no wolf but the shepherd? Bring us a better account of your charge; go back to your fold. But I might wave all this, yet the Defence is still inadmissible, because false in its conception. The exhibiting the average-ratages of the different dioceses of the South, does not enable the public to judge of its condition. In order to expose the art of deciding any thing by those clerical averages, it is sufficient to recollect the famous average of a dignified writer, who, estimating the average income of the Irish clergy, excluded the bishopricks, and included the curates, to give the reader a just and fair sense of the property of the church. And still further, to expose a Defence founded on average-ratages, it is sufficient to examine the decrees of the court of Cashel, whose average-decrees are stated for the five years previous to 1786, to be 8s. an acre potatoes, but whose particular decrees appear from the books in some cases to have exceeded 20s. The average-ratages of the different dioceses give the public no knowledge of the case. It may happen that the average-ratage of a diocese shall be moderate, and yet the ratages universally exceptionable. Suppose one half of the diocese under the ratage of Dr. Atterbury, and the other under the ratage of Capt.

Capt. Right, the average might perhaps be moderate, but that apparent moderation of ratage would arise from the very circumstance which made it peculiarly culpable, from the double grievance, from the two extremes, from the opposite offences ; it may happen that the proprietors of tythe in some cases crouch to the rich, and encroach on the poor ; the average, under such circumstances, might appear moderate, but the moderation would arise from the compound of crimes, from crouching and encroaching, from meaness and extortion. The moderation of average-price therefore proves nothing ; it is a method which not only conceals, but inverts the case.—It makes the parish of A. appear better from the circumstance that makes her worse, from comparative misery ; it makes the parish of A. when rated too high, appear to be actually relieved, when the parish of B. is rated too low ; as if the former derived a paradoxical relief from the sense of its own peculiar hardship, and obtained a preternatural respiration from burthens, because they were heaped with uncommon measure on herself ; it is a clerical chymistry, which extracts a complexion from the consumption of the case ; oppression alone would not do ; but add partiality, and the compound is vended by the right

reverend authors, as an image of their charity, and a case for their clergy. And as a Defence founded on an exhibition of average-prices only, is unjust to the parish, so it is injurious to the parson; it makes the moderation of parson A. state in favour of parson B. who is an extortioner, and the exaction of B. state against A. who is moderate; as if A. derived riches from the extortion of B. and consolation from the reflection, that if he himself got too little, his neighbour B. whose example he condemned, got too much; and it supposes that A. had a further consolation from the experience, that if he did not share the profit, he divided the infamy.—This process by average, is a confusion and incorporation of vice and virtue, fame and infamy; it is resorted to from an indifference about the real state of the peasantry, suggested by the spirits of corps, at the expence of the best members of the church, and by a false tenderness to some peccant individuals, who may atone for the crimes of an extortioner, by the virtues of a synophant—and—by adulation to their bishop, may secure absolution for every other abomination. The exhibiting average-prices therefore, gives no information. From those submitted in the Defence, nothing can be collected, except that they are not founded in fact. They are stated

to be formed on returns, which do not exceed 12s. the plantation-acre; though, from the oaths of the clergy, or their witnesses, the prices are proved to go to 27s. Waving therefore other objections, this Defence must be rejected on two grounds: First, Because the average-price is not the true Defence.—Second, Because this Defence is not the true average.—But though right reverend authority has not made out a case for the clergy, it has made out a case for the people. So it frequently happens; men are but instruments of Providence, and without knowing it, fulfil her ways. The zealot is but an inflamed organ, bursting forth with unpremeditated truths; reverend writers, endeavouring to establish a right in the Protestant clergy to a tenth of the peasant's labour, as prior to the Protestant religion, paramount to all other rights of property, and therefore prior not only to the Protestant, but to the Christian religion, have only served to bring forth proofs that such a right, if any, resides in the poor, and that the parson was only his trustee: so now the bishops, in their Defence, state the average-ratages of three out of the five dioceses to which their acreable-ratages refer, to amount to above 10s. the plantation-acre for potatoes; and in forming this average, they

they acknowledge they exclude all particular ratages above 12s. and therefore their average is less than the fact; and they do not pretend to include one or two shillings in the pound, notoriously paid to the tythe-proctor by the peasant, though reluctantly acknowledged by the Defence, and omitted in the average, which, on that account, is a still further departure from the fact. This 10s. the acre, demanded and received without any consideration of charity, which was the object of tythe; of building and repairing churches, as is required by the canon law; without parochial schools, as are required of the clergymen by the statute law, and in some places without residence, which is required by canon, common and statute-laws, arises not only from the produce that feeds mankind, but from the only produce which in Ireland, sustains the poor, and most numerous description of mankind, who have not poor rates as in England, and who have another order of clergy to pay, which is not the case in England: this heavy burthen is more sensibly felt, by being peculiar to the South, which by the Defence of the clergy is admitted and represented to be in a state of not only actual, but comparative misery. For the continuation of this partial wretchedness, they state

that one-half of the tythe of the South arises from that very wretchedness, viz. from tythe of potatoes; the other half arises from wheat, which they state in these dioceses to be from above 7s. to above 9s. the Irish acre; from barley, which they state to be from near 7s. to near 9s.; from oats, which they state to be from near 4s. to above 5s.; from hay, which don't pay tythe in Connaught; from flax, which don't pay tythe in Ulster; from cows and sheep and lambs, which they omit in their statement, but from whence the clergy of the South receive a considerable income. In short, from what does, and what does not pay tythe elsewhere. I congratulate the southern clergy on all these advantages; but the Defence interrupts me, and says, that all this is only one-half of their income; there is another gotten from potatoes. Hear the description of the men, from whom that half principally arises—Beggars! men, publickly pronounced, and by all admitted to be trodden down to the earth; men who get 5d. a day for their labour, and pay 6l. a year by the acre for their potatoe garden, which heavy rent is acknowledged to be aggravated by a tythe of 10s. for the continuance of which heavy tythe, the heavy rent is by the advocates of exaction, made the apology.

apology. Poor people, "If we relax, the landlord would encroach—he is worse than the parson," These charges are further aggravated in some places by the disposition of the man who makes them, the tythe farmer. The Defence states, that while the rich dioceses of Cashel and Emly, pays 7s. the acre, potatoes, the poor dioceses of Cloyne and of Cork, pay above 10s. It states the cause of this inequality to be the tythe farmer. It states two causes of high ratages in these dioceses, a brisk corn trade, and the tythe farmer. The latter cause alone is referable to potatoes. It describes these tythe-farmers, vagabonds, fishermen; but fishermen, it says, who don't live by fishing; and who, it also says, till nothing; and who, it is concluded to say, live by no labour, except the labour of exaction. The leasing the tythe to such a crew, is made a matter of mercy. Poor people, they, so runs the canting Defence, "have nothing else to live by." Thus the equity in favour of the tiller of the soil, is made an equity in favour of a crew who bid against him; this equity however, they own to be nothing more than setting the tythe to the highest bidder; and when these bidders are the cause, as the Defence states, of raising the tythe
of

of potatoes in the dioceses of Cork and of Cloyne, to above 10s. the acre, which tythe, in the dioceses of Cashel and Emly, they state to be but 7s. ; that is, when these canters raise the tythe above 30 per cent.—the Defence does expressly applaud them for their moderation.

I HAVE stated, that the Defence of the Southern clergy had made out a case for the poor.—It has done so—it has proved the poor of those districts to be in worse situation than in any other part of Ireland;—but it has gone farther—it has proved the clergy to be in a better; it sets forth that from a number of corn mills, and from a brisk export of corn, the extent of tillage in those parts has greatly increased;—it states, that from those causes, the ratage on tillage has increased likewise;—and thus it allows, what however in another part it denies, that the clergy have the double advantage, an encrease of tillage, the effect of bounty, an encrease of ratage, the effect of tything that bounty—the Defence states, that the clergy of the South, have also a tythe of potatoes, the effect of their peculiar good fortune—which tythe, the Defence admits to be nearly equal to all the rest.—the

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Defence

Defence don't state, but we do and can prove, that in some of these disturbed parts, the livings of the clergy, have of late years, doubled. I might appeal to individuals; some of them will acknowledge it—none of them can deny that the encrease has been abundant. Hence it follows, that the authors of the Defence cannot set up the plea of poverty against the relief of oppression; and as they have made out a case for the poor, so have they suggested the facility of a remedy. They have in their Defence stated, that in the South, the ratages have not in any county or diocese, for these thirty years, varied :—that is, they have in their Defence set up a modus, —a ratage of thirty years is a modus in fact, though it is not a modus in law, and does most decisively ascertain the possibility of establishing a modus by law. What now becomes of the solemn asseveration of the impossibility of paying the clergy in any manner, other than that of tythe? Either they who superintended the Defence, believe that the ratages have not varied, and their argument of impossibility is a pretence, or they do believe they have varied, and their Defence is an imposition. Now, though the Defence in this particular has exceeded the boundaries of reality, yet it does not so egregiously depart from

from them, as not to conclude the authors of the Defence, as to the practicability of fixing a standard, and is an argument sufficient for a modus, though not for a justification.—The bill now submitted to your consideration, proposes that commissioners should be appointed to enquire and to report; as to the commissioners, I do not mean that their number should be confined to members of Parliament; I would admit men more familiar with the subject submitted. As to the enquiry, it will be much facilitated by what has been done and written already;—here it will appear, that the proprietors of tythe in the districts lately disturbed, have, for the most part, proceeded by an acreable ratage—that where they have not, they have proceeded by a mode peculiarly capricious and oppressive; and as in the former case, they have made a modus easy—so in the latter have they made it necessary. Your commissioners will discern where the ratage encreased from the activity of the tythe-farmer—from the advantage of the bounty, or the exceptionable conduct of the clergyman. Possessed of a knowledge of the criminal causes of encrease, your commissioners will disallow all such in the formation of a modus, or tything table, for the different articles which are to be subject to tythe. They will, in the

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tything-

tything-table, estimate each rate as equivalent to so many stone of bread corn, to be valued at stated years, and at the desire of the owner of tythe.

YOUR commissioners will naturally think it adviseable in any plan they form, to exempt the cottager's potatoe garden from tythe;—the proprietor of the tythe to be compensated by a presentment, or an agistment, equal to the sum at which the garden is rated; they will also relieve the parishioner from small dues, and where such have been usually paid, they will probably think proper to compensate the clergyman in the manner above-mentioned.—They will then think it adviseable to relieve the proprietors of tythe, as well as the farmer, and the poor, by giving the said proprietors for the recovery of their income—a remedy effectual and summary.

YOUR commissioners may form a modus, as I have stated above, or they may go a step further, and submit a plan, by virtue of which, surveyors shall be appointed annually, by the parson and parish, to survey, and make a return of the number of acres under tillage.—The acres to be rated according to the tything-table, and the gross sum to be levied in the manner

manner of other country charges. When I say the commissioners will adopt such a plan, I only mean that if you appoint them, I will assist them by submitting such plan. I have stated it in general terms; but the mechanical part I have digested into two bills. The appointment of commissioners, should precede the introduction of such bills, because the enquiry necessary to lay the foundation of such bills, should not be left to an individual, but entrusted to a body empowered and appointed by Parliament.—To an individual, however active his enquiry, authentic his information, the answer will ever be, We do not know all this, and therefore it is, I submit to you to enquire into all this yourselves. And in order that this system of reform should be a means of coercion, as well as of relief, I would have a provision, by which any parish rising up in tumult, such as was committed in 1786, and as is described in our laws, shall for blank time, forfeit the benefit of the act, by paying an extraordinary ratage, —the encreased sum to go to some public use.

But whatever redress is intended, that redress must come from you; it will not come from the clergy: the parochial clergy may wish for a regulation, the bishops don't.

One

One dignitary has denied that tythe can by any possibility be an oppression; other kinds of property may; but the full tenth of your capital, land, and labour, paid to the church, we are informed carries along with it an inherent impossibility of being a burthen!—A heavenly-gifted and mysterious property it seems, which cannot corrupt, but must for ever abide by original purity, and primæval perfection! Should an argument, which depends more on faith than on reason, find no reception in your mind, another dignitary has told you *that the poor are not to be relieved, if the clergy are to be at the expence.* When a bill for the improvement of barren lands, and the encouragement of industry among the lower orders of the people, was in the last session resisted by the spiritual peers—a right reverend prelate was said to have declared as a principle, that the poor should not be relieved, if the clergy were to be at the expence. Such a sentiment coming from a Christian, and a Protestant bishop, must have smote every breast with deep and sincere affliction: but if we are cast down by so great and grave an authority on the one side, we are consoled again by a still higher interposition,—the express commands and practice of the scriptures, on the other. The Saviour of man suffered on a principle

principle different from that which the right reverend prelate has introduced. The apostles, the martyrs, and that flaming constellation of men that in the early age of Christianity shot to their station in the heavens, and fell, and falling illumined the nations of the earth with the blaze of the gospel, they rose and they fell with inspiration of a very different kind. Had Christ been of the prelate's opinion, he never had been born, and we never had been saved.—Had he said to his apostles, 'The poor are not to be fed; the valley is not to laugh and to sing at the expence of our church; or, had the apostles said to the nations of the earth, 'Ye are not to be benefited at the expence of Christian pastors;' or, had the martyrs expostulated with themselves, 'We will not suffer for mankind,' what had become of the Christian religion? Let the Pagan priest of Jove, or the sensual priest of Mahomed, deliver such doctrine, but don't you part with the palm of Christianity, nor relinquish the lofty self-rendering precepts of your gospel, to poach in politics, for little and wicked tenets, in order to brand your Prayer Book with the image of a sorry selfishness, which would disgrace the frontispiece of Machiavel. With all his errors on his head, the Pope himself is too discreet to commit himself with the Bible, by inculcating

self-interest

self-interest as a part of his creed. He has proclaimed, that the support of the poor is necessary, according to the true and ancient discipline of the church; and he has taxed church-benefices accordingly. There are some indiscretions, compared with which, hypocrisy would be decorum—dissimulation would be virtue.—I am not reflecting on what fell from a bishop, so much as I am defending Christianity, by whose principles, on the last day, even the proudest of the priesthood must be tried. Let me suppose that day to have arrived, and, at the dread tribunal, the mitred head to be confronted with the naked peasant—“ I was
 “ an hungred, and you fed me not: I was
 “ naked, and you clothed me not.” Will you then answer your God as you have answered your country? “ The poor were not to be relieved at the expence of the clergy.”—But this is putting human infirmity to too severe a trial, and suggesting gloomy scenes of death and judgment, for which men occupied by the riches, engaged in the amusements, and fretted somewhat in the politics of the world, are but little prepared. It was a declaration of indiscretion, of passion—to speak severely of it, of a warm judgment;—to say the worst of it, of a fallible temper; and entirely to be forgiven, provided it shall be never repeated. I shall therefore hope, on
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recollection, it will not as a general principle be laid down, that the clergy should not contribute a little to the relief of the poor. Alas! that won't do; we are told the poor in Ireland don't deserve relief.—'Suspicious subjects, Presbyterians inimical to the constitution, or Papists 'incredible on their oaths;' that is, below the condition not only of other Christians, but of other men, Jews, Pagans, Mahomedans. Now, as the Roman Catholics happen to be the most numerous part of the Christian church, it follows, if the charge is true, that the majority of the followers of Christ are the worst of the human species—that the greater part of Christendom is the most reprobate part of the earth, and that the redeemer of mankind has come in vain; and the result of the two opinions, that by one right reverend dignitary entertained of the Catholic church, coupled with the other tenet suggested by another dignitary to the protestant church, is, that the former church has done much mischief to man, and that the latter is not to be at any expence to do him service.—However, I will suppose these opinions to relax; the Presbyterian to be restored to his credit—the Catholic to be admitted to grace, yet there is another difficulty in the way of redress—the alledged poverty of the Irish church.—The bishops alledge in the

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Defence,

Defence, that the people of Ireland pay incomparably less to their church.—They acknowledge, that, on a dividend of the whole income, including bishopricks and colleges, each Irish clergyman would receive 230*l. per annum*, and each English clergyman 150*l.*—But then they compare the two aggregate funds, and because 1000 Irish clergymen do not divide as great an aggregate as 10,000 English, they affirm that Ireland pays incomparably less to her church. They don't deny that the English clergy are as ten to one, their fund as six to one; they can't deny that the church of England men in England are more than ten times as many, and the people of England much more than ten times as rich; and then their pampered expostulation amounts to this, That the clergy of England, being ten times as many, having above ten times as much to do, get only six times as much, from a country which is perhaps twenty times as rich.—In all this pathetic lamentation, how have they forgotten the presbyter! how have they forgotten the priest! and their humble pittance! and yet a poor priest shall defend the privileges of a man against proud oppression, and a presbyter shall be able to puzzle a mitre.—With regard to the presbyter, I am clear his income should be increased; the *regium donum* is contemptibly small;

small; one of the acts of a new administration should be to increase it.

WHEN certain right reverend dignitaries insist on the poverty of the Irish church, compared with that of England, they suggest to the people of Ireland the following question: What induced those dignitaries to come to Ireland? Am I to understand that they left their great pretensions in the English church, from a contempt of its riches? and sought preferment in the Irish church from a love of its poverty? Am I to understand that a contempt for dignity, added to a contempt of riches, has induced them to obstruct the progress of our native clergy? and happily fixes their humble eye upon the Irish mitre?—Exalted they are then, at leisure to make pastoral observations on our people.—“The *squirearchy* are tyrants—the common people thieves—the Presbyterians enemies to the constitution—and the Catholics incredible on their oaths.”—Having made an estimate of the value of our people, they proceed to a greater question, an estimate of the value of the income of the clergy; then they calculate, and, like the industrious ant, or the busy bee, *thymo crura plena*, depositing, in the episcopal cells, the bulky store of ecclesiastical revenue, they

return to the crowd, and expositulate with their brethren on the poverty of the church.

I SPEAK of some, not all. There are among them, men whom I revere. Such is one whom I don't name, because he is present; mild, learned, pious, and benevolent; a friend to the meekness of the gospel, and a friend to man. Such is another whom I may name, because he is not present.—He has the first episcopal dignity in this realm—it is his right—he takes it by virtue of the commanding benevolence of his mind, in right of a superior and exalted nature. There are men possessed of certain creative powers, and who distinguish the place of their nativity, instead of being distinguished by it—they don't receive, they give birth to the place of their residence, and vivify the region which is about them.—The man I allude to, I know not, or know him as we know superior beings, by his works.

I HAVE, in the foregoing part, endeavoured to defend myself against an attack, published without the names of certain dignitaries of the church, but not without their authority: I shall now strive to answer another attack, published by their authority, and with their names

names annexed—the parochial clergy of Munster, at their annual visitations assembled.

A VERY respectable assembly; how employed? To assist the committee appointed by act of Parliament to enquire into the scandalous abuses which have sunk the charitable funds of royal and private donation?—No, from the Southern archbishop, that committee has received no assistance.—To establish parochial schools, according to act of Parliament, at their own expence?—No, that work has been neglected.—To establish diocesan schools, at their own expence, as by law they are obliged?—No, that too has been neglected or perverted.—To enquire into the state of charter-schools, and to follow Howard in his pious and singular activity?—No, the parochial clergy of the province of Munster, at their visitation, have been otherwise employed. They have read a speech concerning tythes, their property, and yet there were subjects more worthy of their interference! Their God has been denied by the arguments of the Atheist; his Son has been denied by the arguments of the Deists. English bishops, Presbyterian ministers have come forth—the parochial clergy of Munster, and their six bishops—have they signalized themselves in this holy war?—
their

their learning—their industry—their zeal on their natural subject—I look for—I cannot find them.—Their country, as well as their God, had been outraged—her trade crippled—her constitution destroyed—and her final judicator, of which the right reverend the lords spiritual compose an implicit part, usurped.—What an opportunity here for their interposition during a long period!—Where are their spirited votes?—Where are their deep researches?—A layman indeed, on that occasion, came forth, Molyneux came forth; and, though he could not retake the citadel, he rescued the holy vestiges, the vestal fires of the constitution, and rescued them without aid from the dignified priests of the temple.—A most successful struggle to recover trade and freedom was afterward made—what an opportunity here! The Presbyterian ministers came forward in every shape—the Roman Catholic priest afforded us his literary assistance—the parochial clergy of Munster, and their six bishops—not one syllable—on their part a sad blank—profound, uninterrupted taciturnity.—When their God—their Redeemer, and their country are in question, they are silent; but, when a twelpenny point on their tythe is brought forward, then they are vivacious; then the press groans with clerical Billingsgate; then

then a synod is held in the capital, in the seat of learning, under mitred auspices, training up the reverend youth of the country in the holy office of anonymous publication, and inoculating their tender minds with the scribbling itch of meagre production; and then the parochial clergy of Munster, deans, deacons, archdeacons, prebendaries and precentors, with six bishops, in holy order, and solemn march, advance—on what? On the principles of decorum and respect due to a member of the legislature: “The provincial clergy
 “having read a Speech, entitled by the publishers the Speech of Mr. Grattan, and by
 “him not disavowed.” Their bishops should have informed their clergy, that, to justify the application, it is not sufficient the publication should not be disavowed, but necessary that it should be authorised. Giving a reason for the application, and giving a bad one, they convict themselves of making the charge, and of making it without foundation. Here I must suggest an established rule, which I scorn to insist on, but am forced to acknowledge.—No man, no body of men, have a right to charge on a member of the legislature, as his speech made therein, an unauthorised publication. Against this rule have transgressed

gressed those anonymous and wrathful clergymen, who, in a flock of noisy publications, have attacked what I never published—and replied to what I never said. They are welcome—they have shewn that all of them can write; it remains for them to shew that some of them can excel—their patrons I hope will reward them. The flies of the vintage, they gather about the press, and already taste, in devout expectation, the inspiring fruit.—A light swarm! that they should travel over boundaries I am not astonished; but that the grave body, the parochial clergy of Munster, with their six bishops—they too are welcome. I should be the last man to avail myself of an intemperance, and they are the last body against whom I should insist upon it.—Requesting therefore, that when the exalted of their body complain of encroachment, they may extend to others that indulgence which they themselves (it appears) sometimes stand in need of.—I shall wave the irregularity of the attack, and suppose the parochial clergy of Munster to have come forward in a shape in which they are not exposed to a censure, but entitled to an answer.—’Tis a matter of anxiety to know what is the evil they advance to combat—they state it, “Lest an anonymous pamphlet should, in their own province,

“vince, prejudice them in the opinion of men
“unacquainted with their persons or modera-
“tion.” If by such they mean people of the
other provinces, I do not see how the paro-
chial clergy of Munster can be specially affect-
ed in their own province, by the opinion of
men who live out of it; but, if they wish to
recommend themselves to such, if the opinion
of such men is worth their attention, the pa-
rochial clergy of Munster must take measures
very different from the manifesto; they must
agree to an exemption for the potatoes of the
peasant; they must agree to an exemption for
the flax of the manufacturer; they must ac-
cede to a modus, not a manifesto.—But, if
the parochial clergy of Munster are indifferent
about the opinion of the other provinces, and
by men unacquainted with their persons and
moderation, I mean their own parishioners, I
marvel much that these grave and enlighten-
ed men should alledge so slight and sarcastic a
cause for their momentous interposition, as-
signing, on the first supposition, a very in-
adequate; on the second supposition, a very ex-
traordinary; and on neither, the real cause for
their manifesto.—When a great body conde-
scends to give a reason for its proceedings,
that reason should be excellent; and rather
than have offered such a one as they have sub-
mitted,

mitted, I think the parochial clergy of Munster had more consulted their dignity, by assigning no reason at all—by resting every thing on their authority, and by standing forth in the public prints, a great name without an argument.

HAVING professed such an object for interposing, the parochial clergy of Munster endeavour to accomplish that object by a manifesto, declaring that the prices set forth in the speech alluded to, do greatly exceed the prices demanded by the clergy of Munster, and are gross misrepresentations. Here it becomes of moment, to know what are these prices set forth in the speech. I do not find, the speech relies on prices for wheat, which exceed 16s. the acre, or on prices for potatoes, which exceed 27s. the plantation acre. But such prices, or any thing near such prices, are bad enough in all conscience. Whether the prices are 10s. for wheat, or 13, 14, 16, 20, or 27s. the acre, potatoes, they are unconscionable. I agree with the parochial clergy of Munster, in their honest indignation at the refusal of such charges—they are enormous, uncharitable, and unchristian: the next question is, where these charges have been found?—In the returns of the judge, or of the proper officer,

officer, appointed by the proper court to try bills or petitions under the compensation-act; charges, which by the act must be the usual charges of three years back, and which must be verified by affidavit; so that this manifesto is nothing more than a declaration, that the prices reported by the judges or triers, and verified by the oath of the parsons, or their witnesses, do greatly exceed the real prices, and are gross falsehoods; that is, that the witnesses in these cases concerned for the clergy, have been guilty of perjury. But as this is impossible, we must suppose, that these prices are not chargeable with falsehood, but so chargeable with excess, that they become incredible from their enormity; and thus this declaration of the parochial clergy of Munster, is nothing more than a manifesto against the exactions of their own body. These clergymen,—these tythe farmers,—or these tythe procurators, who have recovered under this act, and who by themselves or their witnesses, have sworn to such scandalous charges, should take notice, that they are proclaimed by the parochial clergy of Munster, at the annual visitation assembled;—that the prices demanded by said persons, are proclaimed and stigmatised, and publickly disavowed and reprobated by the bishops and the clergy of the province of Munster, at their annual visitations assembled;—

that these prices are pronounced not only to exceed what they themselves demand, but to exceed their demand in a very high degree—to be not only exorbitant charges, but incredible calumnies—Miraculous!—that the clergy of Munster, with their six bishops, unconsciously led, but happily influenced, meaning only to attack a member of Parliament, should, by a blind—but heaven-directed zeal, pronounce ecclesiastical and episcopal judgment against unconscionable tythe. See the first fruits of the zeal of a layman, and the temerity of a bishop!

THE parochial clergy of Munster, having in the first paragraph of their manifesto, affirmed a universal proposition—are advised in the second, to give that paragraph a contradiction. They are of opinion—that the prices set forth in the speech, and denied in the manifesto, may exist notwithstanding; but if they do, they are only apparently high, and are really justifiable.—In the first paragraph, they are advised to decide against their existence and moderation.—“They greatly exceed the prices demanded—they are false—they are calumnious.” In the second, they are advised to change their opinions with respect to both;—they may not be false

false—they may be justifiable—the contradiction is of little moment; the justification must be observed upon: is 12, 13, 14, 15, 20, 27s. an acre for potatoes, justifiable?—Have the provincial clergy of Munster, with six bishops at their head, come forth to tell us this?—Have the parochial clergy of Munster, come forth to excuse extortion?—Do the parochial clergy of Munster design by such a justification, to recommend themselves either in or out of their province, to those who are, or to those who are not, acquainted with their persons, and who are yet to be acquainted with their moderation? I did hope, that the parochial clergy of Munster, at their annual visitation assembled—would have held a different language, and instead of reading newspapers, or answering pamphlets, would have employed those sage and sacred moments to restrain exaction, and to animadvert on improper ministers.—Here I see and lament that fatal spirit of corps, which arms the enemies, and discomfits the real friends of the church. The reverend and learned body read in the pamphlet, certain figures of unjust prices, with natural indignation. But they were brought to recollect, that these prices might be the charges of a brother churchman. In their capacity, as men and gentlemen, they abhor—

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in their corporate capacity as priests, they are advised to apologize—hence a confusion of style from a distraction of sentiment—hence the printer, who puts down the figures of certain prices is guilty—the minister who exacts them—innocent. A piece of money, which in numbers tells as exaction, being deposited in the pious hand of a spiritual pastor, undergoes a sort of transubstantiation, and is only apparently high, while the clerical offender is acquitted by a miracle; and this miraculous benefit of clergy is extended to the lay, as well as the ecclesiastical owners of tythe; and to all the low and wretched train of persons of various professions and relegions, connected with its collection. I excuse the zeal of the parochial clergy of Munster—I say nothing of their discretion. I applaud the first motions of their heart—I am sure the majority of them scorn to practice what they are influenced to extenuate: but don't these worthy men perceive, that while they insist on the moderation of such practices, they may bring into question, the moderation of their own principles, and teach the public to fear, lest these prices, which are now the subject of their Defence, may become hereafter the object of their imitation? The progress of exaction is well known:—from general indignation to
special

special toleration—from special toleration to general adoption. I own I see the necessity of my bill *now*, emphatically *now*—just at the critical period before those high charges have become a general practice; and when they begin to receive a degree of countenance—when the balance of charity trepidates in episcopal hands—when Exaction has not lost all her native horrors, and yet is growing somewhat familiar to their eyes—is only apparently high—probably justifiable.

The parochial clergy of Munster proceed: they say, they do not believe, that in the whole province of Munster, there exist, of prices unusually high, three, or even two instances! The parochial clergy of Munster, do not believe, that throughout the whole province of Munster, in the counties of Cork, Tipperary, Limerick, Kerry, or Clare, in all the livings, lay, as well as ecclesiastic, among all the owners of tythe, clergymen, lay-impropriators, tythe-proctors, tythe-farmers, or sub-tythe farmers, there exist of prices unusually high, three, or even two instances! I respect the parochial clergy, and marvel, that so grave a body should have been induced to commit itself on so extraordinary an assertion;

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THE declaimers for tythe, have represented the landlords of Ireland as extortioners; these are the lay-impropriators—the same declaimers have represented the middle-men as unextortioners; these are the tythe-farmers: do these descriptions of men, the landlords, who are extortioners, the middle-men, who are extortioners, put on a new nature when they come in contract with tythe, and derive the virtue of moderation from the contagion of poverty, the best formed to prompt reward, and conceal exaction?—This is infallibility! denied indeed to the doctrine of the priesthood, but now transferred to the property of the church. Here again breaks out that spirit of corps, which always exposes the church; there is no extravagant conclusion to which it will not lead men in certain situations, though of excellent understandings. But, to wave the rashness of such an assertion, had not the parochial clergy of Munster their own experience to direct them? Had they never made the rate-age or value of church-benefices any part of their private meditation? Had they not the returns admitted to be made in 1786, to direct them? There, every where, they could have discovered their error. What! in the whole province of Munster they don't believe that of prices unusually high, there exist three, or even

two instances? Admit their position, and they are ruined; all are alike, 12s. 14s. 16s. 20s. or 27s. the acre, for potatoes, are, according to this, not the unusual charges of a few, but the extortions of all. Never was such an attack published against the Southern clergy, as this manifesto propagated by themselves; and, lest such a paper should extend or descend to prejudice the clergy with the present and with future times, let me interpose a moment, and rescue their character from their vindication; unable as I find myself in this step to support their discretion, let me say something in favour of their truth and moderation; and, in contradiction to the first paragraph of their manifesto, let me assure you, that the prices sworn to by some of the clergy, or their witnesses, however high, were truly set forth by the same; but, let me add, in contradiction to the third paragraph, that said prices were unusually high; the extortions of the particular men, not of the body in general; and, for the sake of the body in general, and the individuals in particular, let me hope their manifesto may meet with but little regard.

HAVING ceased to assert, the manifesto proceeds to interrogate. When a grave and respectable body of men propound questions, they

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deserve

defective answers, even though the questions themselves are of little moment. The parochial clergy of Munster interrogate, whether a want of moderation in some (supposing, what they don't allow, such want to exist) bespeaks a want of moderation in all? without advert-
ing to the rules of logic, and consulting merely the character of the clergy of the South, particularly some of the subscribers, I should immediately answer in the negative; but, if I paid any attention to the manifesto, I should answer in the affirmative; because, in part of that unlucky production, I find that the exactions of the few, though not according to the practice, do not appear sufficiently offensive to the principles of the many, but are stated as probably justifiable; it is therefore only by rejecting their Defence, that we can answer their question to their satisfaction or their credit. The parochial clergy of Munster ask, whether the want of moderation in some (if any) will account for the indiscriminate attack made on the body?—To this question I lament that no answer can be given, because all enquiry was, and is now resisted by some of that very quarter from whence the question has proceeded. We cannot determine, however we may surmise, that high charges in some instances on
peasants'

peasants' subsistence, tythed in no other part of Ireland, might have excited discontents which go generally beyond the region of their causes, and spread by contagion.—The parochial clergy of Munster ask, Whether the want of moderation, if any, in some, will justify every species of violence, combination, and exaction? To whom do they apply this question? To government, who gave them troops—to the legislature, that gave them a riot-act—and a whiteboy-act, and a magistracy and two compensation-acts.—Are the parochial clergy of Munster aware of the force, the influence, the expence, and the high penal nature of these measures? And how the constitution bled, and the springs of justice well nigh cracked, while we listened to such suggestions? Do I condemn them? No. After some necessary qualification and amendment, I voted for most of them.—Whatever right the rest of the community may have to expostulate with me on this subject, they have none.—I voted, under the pressure of the times, for temporary coercion, before enquiry; and I did hope the clergy would not have opposed me in moving for subsequent enquiry, to prevent the continuation and repetition of coercion.—The parochial clergy of Munster ask,

Whether exaction will justify outrage? I own I am at a loss to discover their provocation for such an interrogatory. Versed, as they certainly are, in the science of ethics, they undoubtedly must know, that crimes justify their punishment, not one another.—Exaction will not justify robbery, nor robbery exaction. When the Southern clergy applied to government for troops, to the legislature for capital punishments, they said, “ Suppress the insurgent by arms, punish the robber by death;” and we listened to them. When they come forth a second time, with a tarnished display of past sufferings, and with a peevish interrogatory, “ Whether exaction will justify every species of cruelty?” they mean nothing; or, they do mean “ Be tender of the exactioner—don’t enquire into his transgressions—let his sufferings be a set-off against his offences:” and here we can’t listen to them; otherwise civil society, contrary I am sure to their intentions, would cease to be a system of reward and punishment, and would become nothing more than a scale of iniquity; from exaction to tumult, and from tumult suppressed, to exaction triumphant! disgusting extremes!—A bishop bawling for tythe, or a whiteboy for rebellion.

THE

THE parochial clergy of Munster ask, Whether a want of moderation in some, will justify a crimination of the whole body? which crimination they affirm to be the great object and end of the speech alluded to.—To this most serious and unmerited reflection, I answer, that I did arraign many of the tythe-farmers, many of the tythe-proctors, and some of the clergy of the South; but that I did not arraign the majority of the latter description, on the contrary, declared I presumed the majority to be innocent. I may add, that some of their subscribing dignitaries were present; the manifesto then is liable to this observation, that it has brought forward the misrepresentation of my Speech, and that it has omitted to bring forward the fact. I am glad, however, that the parochial clergy of Munster, by their question, declare they disapprove of general charges, founded on some particular instances; but this concession will subject them to a keen retort from various descriptions of his Majesty's subjects: and first, from all the peasantry of Munster, who will ask, Whether the turbulence of some peasants, justified a certain quarter in resisting an enquiry into the distresses of the body at large? and whether those excesses justified the declaimers for tythe
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in representing the peasantry of Munster as one vast confederated Popish banditti?—It will expose them to another question from the landlords of Ireland, who may ask, Whether the rack-rent of some, justified those declaimers for tythe in representing the landlords of Ireland in general as *extortioners*?—It will expose them to another question from all the Presbyterians, who may ask, Whether the rising of some Popish peasants in the South, justified the advocates for tythes in proclaiming the Presbyterians of the North, and indeed the whole Presbyterian community, as labouring under an incapacity of being sincere friends to the constitution? It will expose them to another question from all the Roman Catholics, who will ask, Whether such risings as the above, justified the advocates for tythes in representing the whole Catholic community as inimical to the constitution, and incredible on their oaths? What description of subject that has not been traduced? What character that has not been outraged? Offend their God, and some men will absolve; offend their property, and they persecute.—I am glad that the parochial clergy of Munster have felt the impropriety, though I should be sorry they ever should feel the lash of general reflections, founded

founded on particular instances: and I sincerely hope it will be a lesson to some of their bishops in future not to make, and a lesson to some of their clergy not to countenance, such general reflection. I agree with the parochial clergy of Munster, such reflections are matter of censure in a printer—but I go a step further—I do not think them matter of thanksgiving in a bishop.

THE parochial clergy of Munster complain, that all means have been used to give currency to unmerited censure, and to impose a stigma on the clergy of Munster.—They are right; but let them direct their complaints to the proper objects—let them turn to those who helped certain ponderous publications on their side, through a series of heavy editions: let them turn to their own hot and hazardous pilots: let them expostulate with their own stars, those cloudy luminaries, under whose angry influence worthy men have fought those rocks on which they fear, vainly I hope, the wreck of their reputation. Let them turn to those who advised some amongst them to resist the interest of the manufacturer, by petitioning against a modus for flax; to resist the interest of the husbandman, by petitioning against a bill for the improvement

provement of barren land ; to those who attempted to commit the established church, with the whole Catholic community, by declaring the individuals who compose it to be incredible on oath, and with the whole Presbyterian community, by declaring both to be inimical to the constitution of the realm. Turn to those who spirited up worthy men to express their approbation of such illaudable productions.—Turn to those who have now spirited up grave and worthy men to come forward with this empty manifesto.—The clergy, no doubt, have reason to complain of the paper war; they have found, in a country where reason may write, the palm is not to the powerful ;—their antagonists have reached them, but the worst wound came from their own quarter ; the pompous folly, the dogmatical and intolerant spirit, the false alarm spread, the unfounded charge made, the want of discretion, the want of decorum, and the want of temper.—There is something which distinguishes an ecclesiastical war on the subject of property ; a miraculous degree of perseverance, a marvelous portion of fire, a certain turbulence of zeal, and an appetite for the thing in controversy, which is not only keen but ferocious.—However, if their own publications have hurt them, the injury

is not great; few of them have been read, most of them are forgotten; the brief children of temporal desires, they have tasted of death, even in the life time of their ghostly fathers.

To the nobility and gentry of Munster, the parochial clergy appeal.—Why not the poor? don't they pay tythe? don't their potatoe-gardens pay tythe? The Saviour of man would not have passed them by. Had He only appealed to the nobility and gentry of Judæa, He must have overlooked his own apostles.—Had the parochial clergy of Munster been left to themselves, their appeal would have taken a more evangelic direction; but when potentates prescribe, when certain dignitaries, long in the habits of courtly application suggest, the parochial clergy are controlled, and those right reverend spiritual-politicians present, as usual, their faces to the great, and habitually turn from the poor and the Lord: they overlook Lazarus expiring at their feet, and call on Dives to give his sense on the subject of charity. Have the parochial clergy forgotten, that, by some of their own writers, these noblemen and gentlemen have been represented as the patrons of exaction, though now the poor are referred to them, as the arbiters of

moderation. I am sure the landed interest was grossly misrepresented. I am glad the parochial clergy of Munster are sensible of it. But it is not such men that can establish the clergys' character for moderation, because such men are seldom the object of their exaction; it is the poor, to whom they don't appeal; it is the cottager's voice, the peasant's testimony; or (since he is not allowed to be credible on oath) his simple affirmative; or, (since he must not speak in his native language) his hands uplifted in their favour: these are the best witnesses to prove the moderation of the clergy of Munster.

THE parochial clergy of Munster inform you, that the church is attacked—they tell you more, that religion is attacked; and they tell you how, because an attack, as they conceive, has been made on themselves. They annex the existence of the church, and the divinity of religion, to the importance of their own persons.—With every respect for the parochial clergy of Munster, I cannot accede to the irreverent and vulgar familiarity with which controversialists on their side are prone to introduce and make common cause with the Almighty.—Let bigots rail, let polemics revile, let headlong zealots vociferate, but the parochial

chial clergy of Munster will agree with me, that this licentiousness should be confined to the human species, and that the majesty of the Godhead should remain inviolate. What, is there nothing in our religion, nothing in its external, nothing in its internal evidence, nothing in its miracles, prophecies, propagation, doctrine, and diction, to raise its Author above the possibility of being affected by the paper war, and wretched controversy, in which some idle ecclesiastics may have involved themselves!--He has prevailed against greater enemies, the pride of the high priest—the servility of the bishop. But it should seem that it was not religion which supported the parson, but the parson that supported religion.—The error, however, is natural and common; the politician thinks the state rests on his shoulders, and the dignified divine imagines the church and the Christian religion—the firmament and starry sphere to dance round his person and property.—It is a matter of curiosity to know what, on the present occasion, has endangered the Christian religion; an anonymous pamphlet against tythe, and a motion to enquire into the sufferings of the poor—for this is the Godhead brought out from his shrine, and exposed as an outwork in Defence of church property. However, if their religion is so connected with every step they take,

take, they have the remedy within themselves—let them agree to such acts as will benefit the community—or let them cease to oppose every act that has a tendency to relieve or to enquire.—Once more I offer a public enquiry—I solicit once more redress for the peasantry of this country.—I offer a bill appointing commissioners for that salutary purpose—Do the clergy of Munster decline the offer? What! are they afraid of an enquiry? Will they shelter themselves under a court? Have they come forth with a manifesto, and do they now deprecate an examination? Once more I offer it;—and I add, that if this bill should pass, and commissioners should be appointed, the clergy will be made sensible that we are friends to the provision of the church, as well as to the relief of the people.

THE END.